

# Viet Revolt Against Saigon And U.S. Exposes Lie of War for "Freedom"

By Dick Roberts

APRIL 6 — As we go to press, it appears that Premier Nguyen Cao Ky's noisy threats and the U. S. air-lifted troop movement to Danang have failed to end the virtual insurrection in that city, leaving Danang and her sister city of Hue still in the hands of anti-Ky forces. Meanwhile, violent anti-government student demonstrations in Saigon have entered their fourth day in spite of police attempts on the previous three days to break them up with clubs, tear gas and smoke bombs.

In Washington, the Democratic administration, from Lyndon B. Johnson, who three months ago was embracing Ky in Honolulu, down to White House press secretary Bill Moyers has entered its 27th day of embarrassed silence, having uttered not one word on the developments in south Vietnam since the first demonstration against the Saigon military clique March 10.

These developments have completely exposed the fraudulence of Washington's pretense for involvement in south Vietnam — the pretense that the U. S. is fighting for the south Vietnamese people's freedom. The Ky regime stands exposed as a U. S. puppet, and as a hated military dictatorship which not only the peasants in the countryside oppose, but the masses in the cities as well. The opposition to Ky and the U. S. extends from high school students to army officers and policemen. A general strike in Hue is ending up its first month.

The sharp anti-American tone of the demonstrations has shown that the Vietnamese are fully aware of the U. S. responsibility for the military regime in their country, and that the masses in the cities want the U. S. to get out and allow the Vietnamese to determine their own fate.

At a rally in Saigon, March 31, marchers carried banners reading, "Wrestle Back Our Sovereignty"; "Americans, We Want Friends Not Bosses"; "Down with U. S. Obstructionism" and "Foreign Countries Have No Right to Set Up Military Bases on Vietnamese Land." While students made speeches denouncing the Ky regime and its U. S. support, others nailed crayon caricatures of the three leading Saigon-junta figures to stakes in the public square where government executions have been previously carried out.

The high point of anti-government demonstrations to date ap-



**DENOUNCE U. S. ROLE.** Student demonstrators in Saigon just before being attacked by cops. Banner declares: "Down with U. S. Obstructionism."

pears to have been on Saturday, April 2. On that day, there were 10,000 marchers in Danang, including 2,000 Saigon army troops, shouting anti-American as well as anti-government slogans. There were somewhat fewer marchers in Hue, but with a larger contingent of army forces, estimated at over 3,000. These troops were followed in the Hue march by a contingent of 1,000 civil service workers and another contingent of 1,000 national police.

Smaller demonstrations were also reported in Pleiku, in Dalat — where the government radio was subsequently seized and burned by students — and in Quinhon and Nhatrong.

In Saigon, April 3, Ky's police used force for the first time in the recent series of anti-government protests to drive 300 students away from the Saigon radio station. The following day, however, many more students turned out

— possibly numbering 1,500 — in an attempt to storm the Saigon police station. The students crossed one barbed-wire barricade, tearing it aside with their bare hands, but they were turned back when the cops opened up with tear-gas cannisters thrown by American-made grenade launchers.

One high official in the American diplomatic corps broke through the official veil of silence during the Saigon demonstrations, according to the *New York Times* April 5, and blurted out, "They're in trouble [Ky's regime] because they're confronted by a bunch of surly adolescents and they don't have the guts to paddle their bottoms."

A different estimation of the situation posed by the Saigon demonstrations, however, seems to have come from U. S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. Lodge

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## GIRARD COLLEGE CASE

# Antibias Fighters in Court

By Stanley Vaughn

Stanley Vaughn is a member of a new civil rights organization, the *Young Militants*; which was formed last year during a long struggle against Jim Crow at Girard College in Philadelphia. Girard College was founded as a school for poor orphans, but its "white only" policy excludes the poorest.

PHILADELPHIA — The stubborn seven and one-half month fight to break Jim Crow at Girard College, which resulted in the arrest of 35 pickets, has reached a new level with the conclusion of the trial of seven of the pickets.

The charges were inciting to riot, resisting arrest and breach of peace. As it stands now, only the breach of peace charge faces the defendants, with the other charges thrown out by Judge Stanley Greenberg.

Defense Attorney Cecil B. Moore is appealing the breach of peace charge, on the grounds that it violates the constitutional rights of

the defendants. The national office of the NAACP has backed the appeal.

The trial began on March 2. The seven defendants were Nathaniel Wood, Harold Jackson, James Johnson, Theodore Thomas, Dwight Campbell, James Brown and myself.

### New Testimony

The prosecutor's witnesses, were all policemen. While their testimony was obviously carefully rehearsed, it did not coincide with what they said before a preliminary hearing on June 25, 1965. For example, at the trial some of the policemen-witnesses testified that the demonstrators used profane language and tossed bricks and bottles — but none of this was part of their original testimony at the preliminary hearing.

There were pictures taken of the demonstrators introduced into the trial. They showed no basis for the charges, and Attorney Moore pointed out during cross-

## THE MILITANT

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### A MILITANT INTERVIEW

## Antiwar Army Officer Describes Experience

By Doug Jenness

The following interview was granted to Doug Jenness, editor of the *Young Socialist*, by Lt. Henry Howe, who is 24 years old, had just been released on parole from the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He had served three months of a one-year jail sentence imposed upon him by a court-martial on Dec. 22. Howe's "crime" had been to participate in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam while off duty and in civilian clothes in El Paso, Texas, on Nov. 6.

Doug Jenness is on a national speaking tour of college campuses discussing "Socialism and the New Radicals: How This Generation Can Change Society."

BOULDER, Colo. — When I called Lt. Henry Howe from Denver and asked if I could talk to him for a few hours, I wasn't sure that he would agree. Only a few days before he had been released on parole from the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas and I knew he would want a chance to relax. He had served three months of a year's term on the charge that his participation in an anti-Vietnam-war protest was "unbecoming to an officer and gentleman" and that he

had used "contemptuous words against the President."

However, he readily agreed to see me and I soon found myself on the bus to Boulder.

Howe greeted me at the door of his parents' home and seemed to be in excellent spirits. He is a very straightforward person who speaks his mind quite frankly. I told him that I was on a national speaking tour for the Young Socialist Alliance and that I had heard a lot about his case. We chatted for a while about various socialist groups and campus politics. He was especially interested in hearing about the development of the anti-Vietnam-war movement.

Then we turned to his case. I asked what restrictions had been placed on him during his parole and what his plans are now. He told us that his situation was still ambiguous. Although his release papers state that he can travel anywhere within the continental United States, he is not to associate with people of "questionable character."

### Made Mistake

His lawyer, Melvin Wulf from the American Civil Liberties Union, is looking into the precise legal aspects of the parole. Howe thinks that it is unlikely that the army wants to put him back in the Disciplinary Barracks. "The Army made a big mistake with my case and now they want to get it out of their hands altogether," Howe told me.

I was particularly interested in finding out what kind of response other soldiers and officers felt toward Howe's antiwar position and his court-martial. Howe told us that he expressed his antiwar sentiments openly to other soldiers. "At Fort Bliss everybody on the base knew I was opposed to the war."

"Didn't you experience any harassment from other soldiers and officers?" I asked.

"Never," he answered. "Nobody ever threatened me with violence or even swore at me for my views."

I asked him whether there was any hostility toward him after he was court-martialed. "On the contrary," he said, "a number of soldiers came up to me and said that they agreed with me. Others stated that I had the right to say what I believed." He cited the example of a West Point graduate, who thought that Howe was getting a dirty deal.

When Howe arrived at Ft. Leavenworth, where he was locked up in the Disciplinary Barracks, he

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### Where Are Smith And McClure?

APRIL 6 — Last Nov. 27 the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam released two U. S. prisoners of war, Sgt. George E. Smith and SP/5 Claude E. McClure. On their release the two GIs said their experience in Vietnam had convinced them the U. S. had no business there and that on their return home they would join the campaign against the war.

On Dec. 27, 1965, Army officials in Okinawa announced they were charging the two men with aiding the enemy. That was more than three months ago and nothing has been heard from them since. The American people should demand to know why.



# Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

## Installment 23

### Public Notice to Rockwell

At a public rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Harlem on Jan. 24, 1965, Malcolm said that on a television news broadcast he had seen Rev. Martin Luther King knocked down by a racist, that "it hurt me," and that if he had been there he would have gone to King's aid. He also read aloud the text of a telegram he had sent to George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party:

This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense — by any means necessary.

### The Man You Think You Are

**Malcolm:** I'm the man you think you are. And if it doesn't take legislation to make you a man and get your rights recognized, don't even talk that legislative talk to me. No, if we're both human beings we'll both do the same thing. And if you want to know what I'll do, figure out what you'll do. I'll do the same thing — only more of it. (Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965.)

**Question:** What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?

**Malcolm:** It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether

they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely. (From interview, *Young Socialist*, March-April, 1965.)

### The Police Commissioner

**Harry Ring:** A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the recent warnings of danger of a new outbreak in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about this?

**Malcolm:** Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races, and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he warns — against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist, and that a little island off the coast of China is China. Well, now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the causes of these explosions, he wants to condemn the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the police commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecilic approach to the problems that exist in the black community, and his continued mousing of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse. (From an interview on radio station WBAI-FM, New York, Jan. 28, 1965.)

## DECLARATION BY CASTRO

# Urges United Defense of Vietnam

[Speaking in Havana March 13, Fidel Castro delivered a fiercely polemical attack against the Chinese regime of Mao Tse-tung. In the same speech, however, he called upon the Chinese and Soviet governments to unite in defense of Vietnam against U. S. aggression. That this demand was directed to both governments is made clear by his call for supplying north Vietnam with an adequate aerial defense against U. S. bombing. The USSR is the only Soviet-bloc country able to provide such defense.

[Castro's demand was echoed at the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party by the head of Cuba's fraternal delegation, Armando Hart, who declared that "a military force should be created capable of stopping the bombardment of north Vietnam, of deactivating United States aircraft that are bombing Vietnamese territory."

[The call for united resistance to U. S. aggression in Vietnam by Castro reiterated similar demands by him on the Chinese and Soviet governments in speeches of March 3 and March 13 of last year.

[The following is the section of Castro's March 13, 1966 speech in which he calls for such united defense. His attack on those ready to fight to "the last Vietnamese" alludes to the Chinese regime which has expressed the view that if the present generation of Vietnamese doesn't win, the next one will.]

Cuba will face the coming years serenely, courageously, no matter how risky they may be, no matter how difficult they may be as a result of the action of our enemies. We will resist firmly, we will resist victoriously, as the heroic people of Vietnam today is resisting the imperialist aggression.

They are facing up to the criminal imperialist war, and they are facing up to the modern air fleets of the U. S. forces, fighting and dying each day.

### Plane Cemetery

It ought not to be like this; it ought not to be possible that a small socialist country be bombed with impunity by masses of imperialist planes. You know how we think. You know that Vietnam should have become a cemetery of U. S. planes; that in a conventional struggle, the relation of forces absolutely favors the socialist camp as compared with the forces of the imperialist camp.

We believe that as soon as the attack on Vietnam started, there should have been an end to the division in the socialist camp. We think that the position ought to have been: we have differences, but in view of the fierce aggression against the brother Vietnamese people, let's put an end to the division, let's give all the support of our anti-aircraft weapons, of our air fleets, to them.

The only argument that the peoples of the world would be able to understand in confronting this problem, in confronting the un-

## Julian Bond Will Speak At Brandeis University

WALTHAM, Mass. — Julian Bond, who was denied his seat in the Georgia Legislature because of his support of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee's position in opposition to the war in Vietnam, will speak on Friday, April 22, at 8 p.m. at Schwartz Hall, Brandeis University.

The talk will be sponsored by three Brandeis student organizations: Campus Americans for Democratic Action, Civil Rights Group, and Students for a Democratic Society.

Bond is information director for SNCC.



SHOT DOWN. A U. S. bomber shot down during raid on north Vietnam. Fidel Castro urged that Soviet bloc make arms available to make north Vietnam a cemetery for such raiding planes.

doubted fact of the criminal and ruthless attack of U. S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam, was this language: Let's put a stop to this verbal war and let's leave it, if you like, for later; but in the face of real war, in the face of the bombing raids against our Vietnamese brothers, let us unite our forces and in a defensive war in the skies over Vietnam, defending the sovereignty of Vietnam, we shall destroy all the U. S. planes. And the socialist camp has sufficient resources to turn north Vietnam into a cemetery for U. S. planes.

It is not necessary to take any offensive action, it is not necessary to carry through any aggressive action, it is enough to offer Vietnam all the conventional armament necessary for anti-aircraft combat, all the necessary planes, and this technology with all the necessary personnel, because the socialist camp has the means to sweep the U. S. pirate planes from the skies in north Vietnam.

### Vietnamese Heroism

We admire the heroism of the Vietnamese people, to see how it confronts with its arms, its rifles, its men and its women, the aggressor planes. But we will never be able to agree and never will be able to understand how it can be possible, there in Southeast Asia, to carry out this type of barbarous war against a small nation of the socialist camp like Vietnam.

And once the imperialist air offensive in north Vietnam is defeated, the people of south Vietnam will not delay in throwing out the imperialist soldiers from their homeland.

The imperialist tactic is clear: mass use of airplanes against north Vietnam; mass use of troops and conventional means of combat, and moreover, inhuman means such as chemical warfare against the south Vietnamese movement.

Nobody understands this theory that if the present generation doesn't win, the next one will. No! This means "Let them fight in Vietnam to the last Vietnamese." What we believe correct would be to say, "Let them fight in any country of the socialist camp, to the last socialist soldier."

The imperialists are carrying out an aggression against Vietnam. It is no secret that they menace China with an aggression. Now, the reality is that the imperialists

are afraid of an encounter with China. They know that the Chinese people can mobilize tens of millions of soldiers and they fear a collision with masses of Chinese troops; the imperialists are afraid of a conventional war with China and they fear an atomic war with the Soviet Union.

The case of the imperialists with Cuba is different. They know we can't mobilize millions of soldiers, and that we don't have atomic weapons. That's why in the U. S. some scoundrel is always coming forth to say they should invade Cuba. Nobody suggests an invasion of China, Nobody! Nobody advises invasion of the Soviet Union. All urge an invasion of Cuba. That is why I say that the imperialists fear a collision with China, with the Soviet Union. They threaten, they menace; what they really want is the unhindered right to keep on bombing north Vietnam.

### United Socialist Camp

Whatever country is under aggression, be it Vietnam or China, and notwithstanding whatever may be our difference with the government and with the leaders of the latter country, we think that in case of aggression the entire socialist camp must support China if she is attacked.

This is our position of principles — the same in the case of any European socialist country under aggression, the same in the case of the Soviet Union. We believe that a truly principled policy is the policy of support to socialist countries in the face of imperialist aggressions. And that the theory of the next generation winning the war, if this one doesn't, is a defeatist theory, inhuman and cowardly. And that the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist principle is to be ready to fight, not to the last citizen of the country under attack, but to the last citizen of the entire socialist camp.

## Weekly Calendar of Events

### CHICAGO

**PATRIOTISM AND LOYALTY: WHAT ARE THEY?** Speaker: Maxwell Primack, Professor of Philosophy Illinois Institute of Technology. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CLEVELAND

**JOSEPH JOHNSON**, the "Man Without a Country," tells his story. Sunday, April 17, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Contrib. 50c. Militant Forum.

### DETROIT

**THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE IRISH EASTER REBELLION.** Speaker: John McCann. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE SPEAK: AN EVALUATION OF RECENT EVENTS.** Speaker: Theodore Edwards,

Marxist lecturer and writer. Fri., April 15, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East 4th St.

### NEW YORK

**JOHN GERASSI**, author *The Great Fear in Latin America*, will speak on OAS — Organization of American States. Fri., April 15, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**MALCOLM X ON THE POWER STRUCTURE.** Excerpts from Malcolm X's recorded speeches in his own voice with a recorded commentary by George Breitman, editor of the book *Malcolm X Speaks*. Tuesday, April 19, 12:15 p.m. San Francisco State College, HLL 341. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

### TWIN CITIES

**THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION.** Speaker: Paul Chelstrom. Fri., April 15, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Mpls., Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Social Forum.

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# ...Interview With Lt. Howe A Veteran Socialist Dies in Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 1)  
was told not to tell anybody about his opposition to the war. "There were two contradictory views given," he said. "One was that the other prisoners were loyal Americans and would thirst for my blood if they knew what I stood for. The other view was that I would 'subvert' all the other prisoners and lead them in an uprising. Amazingly enough some authorities held both positions. It didn't make any difference anyway because everybody at the fort including the prisoners knew all about me before I got there."

I asked him whether he voted for Johnson in the 1964 elections. He said that he had. "Actually it was a vote against Goldwater rather than for Johnson. I thought that Johnson was opposed to the escalation of the war and would try to get us out of it."

"Would you ever vote for a Democrat again?" I asked.

"I'm not sure, but I do know that I would never vote for another Johnson. I can see now that the difference between Johnson and Goldwater is that Johnson is better at fooling the people and is more efficient at carrying out the Vietnamese war. Whatever you may say about Johnson he is a very skilled politician. The country was in a tragic situation in 1964 because neither candidate was what the country needed."



Henry Howe, Jr.

I asked whether the fact that he was a commissioned officer made any difference in the way his case was handled. "Certainly. With a draftee they probably would not ever have bothered with a court-martial. They would classify him as 'emotionally disturbed' and get him out of the army. But they couldn't do that with me, unless they wanted to admit that they were so careless as to let an emotionally disturbed person become an officer."

Howe has an excellent sense of

humor, and it was amusing to hear him tell about his interview with the army's psychiatrist. "I guess they thought I was pretty suspicious."

When he was at Fort Leavenworth, he was permitted to write to five people. However, since he was not formally classified as a political prisoner, he was not allowed to write or receive letters with political slogans, symbolism, or drawings. "This really reached the absurd on several occasions when the censors conjured up the wildest analyses of my letters."

All letters marked with the return address of the Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee located in Denver were returned. "Officially I was not a political prisoner and they didn't want me to receive mail which recognized that I was."

I asked Howe whether he had become a pacifist or whether any of his ideas toward American society had changed as a result of his experience. "I'm not a pacifist and I do not advocate that people should avoid the draft."

"My views toward American society haven't changed too much. The most important change for me was realizing that it's one thing to be critical of American society in the classroom and another thing to be forced to take responsibility for acting on your ideas."

## ...Moves to Crush Vietnam Revolt

(Continued from Page 1)  
warned American congressmen not to visit Saigon, where he couldn't guarantee their lives, and ordered American citizens and soldiers to stay off the city's street.

Ky seems to have started off on the course advised by the spokesman reported in the *New York Times*, undoubtedly with strong White House urgings, but has subsequently backed down. On April 3, Ky held a table-pounding press conference in which he stated that Dr. Nguyen Van Man, the Mayor of Danang, was a traitor and that the city was in Communist hands.

The bespangled dictator then sentenced Dr. Man to death, and promised to seize Danang by force and return it to law and order. Ky's threats were not taken lightly in Danang. Mayor Man stated, "I'm not a Communist, and I'm not going anywhere. Vietnam is my country and this is my city. If Ky sends soldiers up here, I am sure the people will defend me. It would mean bloodshed..."

Man's troops dug themselves in along the roads into Danang, and a truck went around the city blaring out a warning to all citizens to stay in their houses while the army protected them against Ky's invasion.

The response in Hué was similar. The *New York Times* reported the reaction of a Hué student leader, 27-year-old Nguyen Huu Giao, April 4: If the government

does not abdicate, Giao warned, "We will not hesitate to use stronger methods. We are completely against U. S. policy. The Americans have tried to impose political advice. We have already lost our military sovereignty, and Vietnam is no longer Vietnam but almost an American state."

On April 4, Ky carried through the first part of his threat. Along with some 4,000 south Vietnamese troops flown in U. S. transport planes, Ky went to the giant U. S. Air Force and Marine base outside Danang.

There, however, he settled for a day-long session with General Nguyen Van Chuan, the man whom Ky had appointed to replace ousted General Nguyen Chanh Thi as commander of the Saigon I Corps area which includes Danang and Hué.

The generals produced what Premier Ky called a "compromise" but what would probably be more accurately described as a face-saving device for the Saigon government. In return for not marching on Danang — and possibly being slaughtered by the troops of the fortified city — Ky agreed to apologize to the people of Danang for calling them and their mayor Communists.

### New Constitution

More significantly, Ky and Chuan worked out a plan to have the National Assembly meet in Saigon next week to draft a new constitution paving the way for early national elections of a civilian government. This solution does not correspond to the original demands of the anti-Ky forces, which was that the new constitution be drafted by an elected constituent assembly, and it appears to be tenuous at best.

Anti-Ky elements remain in control of both Danang and Hué, and in Saigon today, Buddhist forces held a demonstration in spite of the tightened curfew and military patrolling of the city.

There is the extreme danger, if Ky proves unable to patch his government together, Washington will intervene directly with U. S. troops. Although the government has been officially silent about the Saigon developments, unofficial leaks to press correspondents have made it clear that Washington's sympathies still lie with Ky.

*New York Times* reporter Richard Eder wrote from Washington

April 4: "United States officials are said to believe that the demonstrations and defiance constitute acts of force, and that if necessary Premier Ky would be justified in using force to reaffirm his rule. The implication," Eder continued, "is that United States support will be given in some form if necessary."

### U.S. Threat

If Washington finds it necessary to move U. S. troops directly into the cities, to occupy every corner with U. S. tanks, and to crush every last element of popular resistance, this is precisely what Washington will try to do. The lessons of Santo Domingo must be kept clearly in mind on this point.

The "mopping-up" operation by the U. S. in Santo Domingo last May, which drove the Dominican constitutionalists into the downtown area of the city, cost untold civilian casualties — anything like exact figures of which have never been released.

This kind of atrocity — compounded on all the tons and tons of napalm, crop-destroying chemicals, and millions of rounds of ammunition which have been poured into the bodies of the Vietnamese — is a clear and present danger, and it is a crucial task before this happens for the forces of the American antiwar movement to support the current south Vietnamese demonstrations by demanding here and now: "Get the U. S. Troops Out of Vietnam — Bring the Troops Home Now."

## N. Y. Forum Will Hear John Gerassi on OAS

NEW YORK — John Gerassi, author of "The Great Fear: The Reconquest of Latin America by Latin Americans," will speak at the Militant Labor Forum here on Friday, April 15.

Gerassi was a Latin American correspondent and editor of *Time* magazine from 1957 to 1961. He has traveled extensively throughout Latin America, and his book is an account of the actual economic and political conditions he found there.

He will speak on "The OAS — Organization of American Satellites." The forum will begin at 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum Hall at 873 Broadway.

Lillian Roberts, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for 29 years, died after a long illness on March 3 in Los Angeles.

In the late 1930's and 1940's Lillian played a key role in the organizational life of the party in New York City. She served as the first full-time office secretary of the national organization after the Trotskyists were expelled from the Socialist Party. In that capacity she made the arrangements for the founding convention of the SWP held in Chicago over the New Year weekend in 1938.

She was highly respected for the way she shouldered many responsibilities and warmly liked for her calm and friendly disposition.

When she moved to the West Coast after the war, sieges of sickness prevented Lillian from steady participation in party life. Despite this handicap, she was resolved to remain inseparable from the party ranks.

Her dedication to the cause of socialist emancipation in the

United States was unwavering from the time she entered the movement to the day of her death. Lillian will be sorely missed.

## Calif. Rally Hits Jailing Of Trotskyist in Poland

BERKELEY — Students and faculty at the University of California here held a rally March 21 attended by more than 300 people to protest the imprisonment of the Trotskyist Ludwig Haas and other individuals in Poland for distributing a pamphlet attacking the Polish regime as a "bureaucratic dictatorship" and advocating a system of "workers' democracy based upon workers' councils."

The rally was sponsored by an Ad Hoc Committee on Protest for Polish Political Freedom, composed of 100 members of the Berkeley campus community. Members of a wide range of radical, liberal and socialist organizations are on the committee, including the Berkeley W.E.B. DuBois Club and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Emil G. Conason, Doctor and Friend To Many, Dies in New York at 65

By Priscilla and Harry Ring

NEW YORK — What will the practice of medicine be like in a socialist society where doctors are deeply concerned with healing others; where they are unconcerned with prestige, status, material gain? Dr. Emil Conason, who died of a heart attack April 1, offered an anticipation of that kind of a medical practitioner.

More than 500 people attended his funeral and they were genuine mourners. Clearly, with his death large numbers of people are as grieved as if they had lost a beloved member of their family. Indeed countless patients regarded him that way. There were a number of reasons for this. He was a talented physician and he was a warm, jovial person with a great love for his fellow man.

His medical skill was unusual. Most doctors either devote themselves to the care of patients or lock themselves up in laboratories to do research. Dr. Conason did both. And the two aspects of his work were intimately related. His work in the laboratory was designed always to help cope with the problems of his patients.

He contributed a number of basic concepts to medical science, concepts that were ignored and even scorned by the medical profession but which are now being increasingly accepted.

### Studied Allergies

His principal medical contribution, based on research and practice over a period of more than 25 years, was on allergies and the relation of adrenal cortical metabolism to neurotic disorders. His work convinced him that allergies could affect the physiology of the central nervous system and be the basis for schizophrenia and other mental disorders.

On the day before his death he was able to read in the *New York Times* that a breakthrough had been made in the treatment of schizophrenia with drugs, based on the finding that the disease was related to a disorder of adrenal metabolism. This was precisely the finding he had reported in his 1958 paper, published in the *British Journal of Medical Science*, entitled "Toward a Unified Theory of Schizophrenia."

His unusual comprehension of the physiology of the human body and his fertile imagination made him particularly skillful in diagnosis and in devising the treat-

ments for the most stubborn ailments.

There isn't any doctor that some patient doesn't attribute his life to. But a remarkable number of people are convinced that Dr. Conason extended their life, made it possible for them to cope with an extreme ailment or rid them of one. A man like Art Preis, the late labor editor of *The Militant*, had his life extended for years, despite the most complex ailments, by Dr. Conason's skillful and devoted care.

### Devoted to Patients

But Dr. Conason was unusual not only because of his medical talent. He had a rare ability to communicate with people. Almost with the first sentence he spoke to a new patient he was able to penetrate the protective facade we all tend to erect. Virtually all of his patients regarded him as a loyal and devoted friend who was concerned with all of their problems. His waiting room would be jammed until the early hours of the morning. But he would sit with each patient as long as he felt it was necessary. To each of them he imparted a feeling that they counted, they were important.

He did this not only out of the warmth of his own nature but out of his deep understanding of how this society crushed people and how important it was, even from a strictly medical viewpoint, to imbue people with a sense of their own worth.

In his youth Dr. Conason was an active political radical. Later he devoted himself exclusively to his medical work, but he remained a good friend of all radicals. He understood their special problems and gave them the extra bit of attention their added burdens often called for.

His attitude toward fees was as unorthodox as his medical approach. Those who could pay standard fees paid them, those who couldn't paid less. Many paid nothing and some would borrow a few dollars. All received the same devoted care.

Speaking at his funeral, Dr. Oscar Hector, a research associate, advised Dr. Conason's "family" that the best medicine was to turn themselves outward. Find something to love, he said, and find something to hate. Then go out and do something about it. Dr. Conason would have vigorously applauded.

## Student Antiwar Parley Slated in New York

NEW YORK — An All-Queens High School Conference to Oppose the War in Vietnam has been scheduled for 12:30 p.m., April 10, at Samuel Field YM-YWHA, 58-20 Little Neck Parkway in Queens.

After listening to speakers on the war, the high school students will meet in four workshops on the war and ways of organizing against it. The meeting is being organized by the Queens Committee to End the War in Vietnam.



# Declaration of 4th Inte

The following statement on the meaning of the catastrophic defeat suffered by the workers and peasants in Indonesia at the hands of indigenous counterrevolutionary forces and their foreign imperialist backers was issued March 20 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

I. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International vigorously condemns the barbaric repression of the leaders, members and sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party unleashed by the reactionary Indonesian army, the comprador and "bureaucratic" bourgeoisie and the clerical wing of the petty bourgeoisie. In this repression, the lives of more than 100,000 Communists have been taken and tens of thousands of Communists and other left wingers have been imprisoned or fired from their jobs, which is often equivalent to condemnation to starvation in face of the current mass unemployment.

The Communist Party press and mass organizations, including the largest trade-union federation in the country (SOBSI), have been officially banned. Many leading Communist Party cadres have been murdered, and Njono, the general secretary of the SOBSI and a member of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party, has been executed after a farcical trial. All this was capped on March 12 with the official banning of the Communist Party [PKI] throughout Indonesia.

## Mass Campaign

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International asks the working-class organizations in all countries to start a mass protest campaign, demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners, the immediate legalization of all working-class parties, including the PKI, the Partai Acoma and the Partai Murbah. It calls for establishment of an international working-class Commission of Inquiry to investigate the fate of the top PKI leaders, Aidit, Lukman and Njoto, who, according to many sources, have been murdered by the military.

Out of solidarity, the international working class must be mobilized to the fullest extent to stop the dirty war being waged

by the reactionary forces against the left in Indonesia!

II. If it is now an elementary duty to defend the victims of reaction in Indonesia, this by no means signifies that there is less need to analyze the debacle suffered by the biggest Communist Party in any capitalist country, a party with three million members and millions of sympathizers in various "front" organizations, and to draw the proper lessons from it. The main reasons for the tremendous defeat are as follows:

A. The leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party granted leadership of the Indonesian revolution to Sukarno, questioning that the state apparatus on which he stood was bourgeois in character; and, in contradiction to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, presented this apparatus as a "people's state," a "national democracy" having "two sides" — "one for the people, one against the people."

## First Stage

The PKI accepted the theory of "revolution in stages," limiting the "first stage" in reality to the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle; and in practice even abandoning the fight for a proletarian Communist leadership during this stage although it is declared necessary, in theory at least, by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and even by Aidit himself in some of his writings.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the leadership of the Indonesian CP went so far as to boast about its close collaboration with the Indonesian bourgeoisie,<sup>2</sup> and to openly express its support for Sukarno's ideology of the "Pantja Sila" (five principles), although one of the five is "belief in a single god." The Aidit leadership stressed its position that the "union" of the ideology of the "revolutionary classes" (including the "national" bourgeoisie!) was needed by the Indonesian revolution as long as Communism was not "eliminated" from the union!<sup>3</sup>

(1) "The Indonesian revolution is at the present stage bourgeois-democratic in character and not socialist and proletarian. But the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Indonesia no longer belongs to the old type, and is no longer part of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, which belongs to the past; it is a revolution of a new type, which is part of the proletarian socialist world revolution, firmly opposed to imperialism. . . . Given the fact that the Indonesian revolution is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, it is the historical duty of the proletariat to struggle to conquer its leadership." (D. N. Aidit: *The Indonesian Revolution and the Immediate Tasks of the Indonesian Communist Party*, pp. 15-16. Peking, 1965.)

B. For these reasons, the Indonesian CP, concentrating on "mass recruitment," and failing to provide adequate ideological education and revolutionary training for most of its members, bowed to Sukarno's initiatives for many years, abstaining from any appeal to mass struggles that could decisively change the relationship of social forces in the country.

When Sukarno arbitrarily suspended the constitution and reduced the Communist Party to 30 seats in his new "appointed parliament" of 260 members; when he suspended democratic freedoms and ordered all parties to register for government authorization, the PKI accepted these infringements of its rights and even agreed to participate in the various cabinets which Sukarno subsequently formed.

Included in these governments were such reactionaries as General A. H. Nasution, Hamengku Buwono, the sultan of Djokjakarta and the leading bourgeois politician Ruslan Abdulgani. Today they are the main political brains behind the counterrevolution and members of the counterrevolutionary Suharto cabinet.

Yesterday the PKI leadership treated them as "brother revolutionists" and "allies" inside NASAKOM and Sukarno's cabinets. They even tried to use these arbitrary forms of Bonapartist government to eliminate some of their own competitors in the labor movement. But these very same rules and regulations have been used since Oct. 1, 1965, to suppress the PKI itself. Discerning bourgeois observers have noted that the logic of the PKI policy was to leave the initiative with the anti-Communist forces.<sup>4</sup>

C. At various times in recent years the Indonesian masses moved into action against the declining standard of living due to mass unemployment, inflation, high prices, the plunder of state property by the army high command, rampant corruption in the state administration, etc.

## Popular Uprisings

Again and again they seized imperialist property, occupied plantations and factories, sought to divide the holdings of the big landowners. Again and again, the Sukarno regime and its stooges, with the help of the army, drove out the masses and placed the administration of the properties in their own corrupt hands. Again and again, the PKI leadership refrained from supporting these mass uprisings, refrained from educating the masses and their vanguard in the spirit of preparing to fight for power.

It even refrained from systematically denouncing the danger-

(2) In a speech at the School of Advanced Studies of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Peking, Sept. 2, 1963, D. N. Aidit, chairman of the Indonesian CP, made the following quite blunt statement: "The alliance with the national bourgeoisie has also been realized. The national bourgeoisie starts to return [!] to the side of the revolution, particularly since the party formulated a correct policy and overcame sectarianism in its ranks. . . . We have now collaborated with the Indonesian bourgeoisie for nearly ten years and the revolutionary forces have continually developed rather than grown fewer during this time, whereas the reactionary forces have experienced failure after failure. Even the public anti-Communist clamor of five or six years ago is officially condemned today as . . . against unity. President Sukarno has played an important role in the struggle against Communophobia and for national unity." (D. N. Aidit: *ibid.* pp. 82-83.) It would be difficult to find a better example of self-delusory opportunism paving the way for a tragic defeat.

(3) "Another concept which also reflects the unity of the nation and the unity of NASAKOM is expressed by the Pantja Sila or five principles: (1) belief in a single god; (2) humanitarianism or internationalism; (3) nationalism or patriotism; (4) democracy; and (5) social justice. The Indonesian Communist Party supports and sustains the Pantja Sila, although [!] one of its principles is belief in a single god, in view of the fact that the Pantja Sila, rather than being an attempted substitute for the philosophy of all its supporters, combines [!] all existing ideological tendencies in society. The party is, however, resolutely opposed to those who seek to transform one [!] of the five silas into the leading dominant tendency." (D. N. Aidit: *ibid.* p. 85.)

ous reaction looming not only in the religious organizations but also in the army high command in particular. Aidit referred over and over only to the parties suppressed by Sukarno — the Masjumi and the Social Democratic party — as agents of imperialism and feudal reaction.<sup>5</sup> As a result the military coup of Oct. 1-2, 1965 caught the masses completely by surprise.

It is true that a few months before the counterrevolutionary coup, Aidit shifted his line somewhat to the left. He began to call on Sukarno to arm the workers and peasants (which the Indonesian Bonaparte, of course, care-



Sukarno

fully refrained from doing). Aidit called on the masses to "seize" the imperialist properties as well as the nationalized properties administered by the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" or the army. (Speech Sept. 25, 1965, at the closing rally of the sixth congress of the plantation workers trade unions, reported in the Sept. 27, 1965, issue of the party's central organ *Harjian Rakjat*.)

It is true that in the same speech he warned the masses in an obscure and indirect way: "History has compelled the people and the working class of the entire world to choose between being an anvil and a hammer. If they become an anvil, they will be like the Indonesian working class at present, suffering blow after blow [In his long report to the school of the Chinese CP's Central Committee, mentioned above, not a word is said about these blows!] from the bureaucratic capitalists, embezzlers, grafters, and other exploiters and oppressors."

## Call to Action

"The workers, with back-breaking toil, earn barely enough in a month to last a week, while the bureaucratic capitalists, embezzlers and grafters wallow in luxury, thanks to the blood and sweat of the working class. If they do not want to be an anvil, they should become a hammer; not an ordinary hammer but a huge hammer. Therefore the Indonesian working class should adopt the following attitude: Boldness, boldness and boldness again! Take over, take over and take over again! Act, act and act again!"

But these warnings, voiced on the very eve of the army's counterrevolutionary coup, then already in full preparation, came without any previous or accom-

panying measures for broad mass mobilizations, without preparation for a general strike, without preparation for arming the masses, without concrete warnings about the impending army coup.

The warnings could only heighten the determination of the counterrevolutionaries to strike immediately. They could not create adequate means to prevent or to reply to the counterrevolution. It is not surprising under these conditions that the only concrete response this belated warning evoked was the desperate action of a small group around Lieutenant Colonel Untung and not a mass uprising.

It should be added that while the PKI leadership at first expressed solidarity with this desperate attempt to stop the counterrevolutionary generals from taking over the country,<sup>6</sup> they reversed their stand a few days later — after the counterrevolution won its first decisive battle — and disowned Untung's actions, thereby increasing the general confusion among their own followers.<sup>7</sup> As for the Kremlin, it denounced the Sept. 30 events as a "provocation" without mentioning by a single word the preparations of the reactionary generals to pull a coup d'état.<sup>8</sup>

## Prior Knowledge

According to a dispatch released Feb. 15, 1966, by the Indonesian news agency Antara, the trade-union leader Njono, a member of the Political Bureau of the PKI, stated during his trial that the impending counterrevolutionary coup of the Indonesian generals was discussed in the Political Bureau as early as July 1965. Njono declared that opinion was divided on whether it would be better to react before the coup or immediately after it took place. In any case it was decided to leave the initiative up to the "progressive officers" who were prepared to act within the army against the generals.

While it is possible that Njono's torturers falsified this report before executing him, his courageous and dignified stand during the trial, in which he publicly denounced his torturers and the counterrevolutionary generals, lends credit to this version of the facts.

D. The strategy of the PKI was not to conquer power by mobilizing the masses, but to slowly "transform" the character of the state and the government by infiltrating sectors of the army and administrative cadre. Under this illusion, they gave completely uncritical support to Sukarno, hoping to take over when he died. This explains why they relied on Sukarno instead of mobilizing the broad masses in defense of the revolution and the PKI, not only before the reactionary coup of Oct. 1-2, but even after the coup.

III. These grave political mistakes of the PKI leadership were reinforced and magnified by the opportunist policies of the Kremlin and Peking, both governments supporting Sukarno uncritically, presenting him as the prototype

(6) *Harjian Rakjat*, the central organ of the PKI, wrote in its Oct. 2, 1965 issue: "Whatever the pretext may have been, the coup d'état which the 'Council of Generals' wanted to perpetrate was in any case a counterrevolutionary action which must be condemned. . . . The people . . . are convinced that what the Sept. 30 Movement did to save the revolution and the people was a correct action. . . . The Sept. 30 Movement will enjoy the support and the sympathy of the people."

(7) The Oct. 5, 1965, issue of *Harjian Rakjat* disowned the Sept. 30 Movement.

(8) "The fact that the Communist Party of Indonesia, as early as Oct. 5, published an official declaration in which it dissociated itself from the organizers of the unsuccessful conspiracy and characterized it as an internal affair of the army" is being completely ignored. Even if we assume that individual members of left-wing organizations lent themselves to the provocation and had something to do with the events of Sept. 30, nevertheless this can in no way justify repressions against the Communist Party of Indonesia." (*Pravda*, Oct. 26, 1965.)

(5) Aidit: *ibid.* p. 85.

## THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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# International on Indonesia

of the "noncapitalist" leader of "national democracy," the world leader of the "newly emerging forces" and similar empty, misleading formulas.

For diplomatic reasons — Sukarno's temporary posture against Anglo-Dutch imperialism in the West Irian and Malaysia affairs — the Kremlin gave full uncritical support to the Sukarno regime, not only internationally but even on the domestic level, supplying his army with many of the weapons now being used to kill the cadres and members of the PKI. After the Oct. 1-2 military coup, the Kremlin leaders continued this criminal policy, even trying to blame "putschist" and "adventurist" elements in the PKI for the defeat and calling repeatedly for the "unity" of the Indonesian "revolution" around NASAKOM; i.e., for "unity" between the butchers and their victims.

On Oct. 12, after Sukarno had already called for a thorough purge of those involved in the "Sept. 30 affair" and had permitted PKI leaders to be arrested and murdered in Jakarta, Brezhnev, Mikoyan and Kosygin sent him a special message in which they wrote: "We and our colleagues learned with great joy [!] that your health has improved. . . . We have with interest heard about your radio appeal to the Indonesian people to remain calm and prevent disorders. . . . This appeal will meet with profound understanding [!]" (*Pravda*, Oct. 12, 1965).

Not until Dec. 26 did the Soviet press publish a clear condemnation of the anti-Communist regime in Indonesia. Before then, reporting on the events in that country was limited to reproducing short items from the bourgeois press agencies coupled with "regrets" about the "anti-Communist measures." And at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, the Soviet delegation displayed a shameful attitude, trying in every way to block public condemnation of the counterrevolutionary terror raging against the Indonesian Communists, an attitude which won public praise from the counterrevolutionaries in Jakarta.<sup>9</sup>

## Peking Position

As for the Peking leaders, out of similar diplomatic considerations and maneuvers — such as supporting Sukarno's walkout from the UN and trying to pit the "newly emerging forces" against the "old established forces" — they likewise gave full and uncritical support to the Indonesian regime. Even after the Oct. 1-2 military coup, they went ahead in Jakarta with the World Conference Against Foreign Bases, and without protest stood by as their Indonesian comrades were arrested in the conference hall itself!

It is true that they began to denounce the counterrevolutionary activities much sooner than the Kremlin press. But even then they carefully refrained from any open and clear-cut criticism of Sukarno, trying to present things as if Sukarno had systematically opposed the repression of the PKI, whereas in reality he covered up the repression in good part, merely trying to limit it in order to maintain his own Bonapartist position.

Today some "friends of Peking"



DESTROYED. Ruins of Communist Party building in Jakarta.

maintain that the Chinese CP leaders were in fact critical of Aidit's policies, but they did not want to criticize his party publicly in view of the fact that they were for internal discussion among all the Communist parties that refrained from publicly attacking the Chinese CP and its friends. But this is no valid excuse for remaining silent about a problem of outstanding importance to the international Communist movement; it is only additional proof of the basically opportunist attitude of the Chinese leaders toward the Indonesian question.

## New Situation?

IV. The events of recent weeks — the elimination of General Nasution from the government, Sukarno's declaration that "the revolution is against embarking on its left-wing course," the public collision between Sukarno and the ultra right-wing forces of the Islamic students organizations (more or less passively tolerated by the army) — inspired new illusions in official CP circles that the pre-Oct. 1 situation could somehow be restored.

Sukarno, a typical Bonapartist figure, representing the "national" and "bureaucratic" bourgeois forces in Indonesia, balanced between the "left," represented mainly by the PKI and its mass proletarian and peasant organizations, and the "right," represented mainly by the army and the clerical Moslem organizations, spokesmen of the comprador bourgeoisie and semi-feudal landowners. The Oct. 1-2 military coup delivered a shattering blow to the left, leaving them leaderless and dispersed (while far from completely destroying them), thereby fundamentally upsetting the equilibrium on which Sukarno depended for his leading position.

Naturally he then tried to bolster his position by looking for ways and means to somehow reduce the strength of the army high command and to divide its ranks. These leaders preferred not to take over rule immediately after Oct. 1-2; in the first place because they were not yet sure of the support they could muster in the countryside, where Sukarno remained very popular; and in the second place because they did not want to assume responsibility for the mismanagement of the economy, the complete failure of the so-called "heavy rupiah" and the raging inflation plaguing the country.

Therefore they left Sukarno in power for another six months although he retained only the shadow of his previous Bonapartist strength. When he tried in desperation to reestablish the equilibrium by ousting General Nasution from his cabinet, they permitted the students to stage mass

demonstrations (paradoxically, the ultra right-wing Islamic student associations could now appear to stand in the forefront of the fight against inflation and corruption due to the extreme weakening of the forces led by the PKI).

In conjunction with pressure from the army high command, these demonstrations compelled Sukarno to turn over the leading role in the government to the army's "strong man," General Suharto.

V. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the counterrevolutionists now in power in Jakarta will be able to stabilize the situation for any length of time. The country's economy is stripped; and American imperialism, while able to shore up the new regime with a heavy underpinning of credits, cannot move in on such a scale as to generate any real momentum in economic growth. The army leaders themselves will not readily give up their nationalist, anti-imperialist verbiage which reflects real conflicts of interest with British imperialism and the ruling comprador bourgeoisie and semi-feudal landowners of Malaysia.

A large part of the budget will therefore continue to be squandered in maintaining a huge military establishment and in undertaking costly experiments like the attempt to make an Indonesian nuclear bomb.

## Certain Gains

The masses, although leaderless and deeply shaken, have not lost all fighting potential, particularly in the countryside. It will prove impossible to get the thousands of squatters to evacuate the imperialist-owned or "nationalized" plantations managed by corrupt army officers, or to compel the thousands of plantation and oil workers to revert to the "normal" working conditions of colonial times. And without such a shift to "normalcy," the Indonesian economy will not be able to develop in accordance with the neo-colonial pattern.

The incapacity of the military leaders to achieve some social and economic stability will undermine the counterrevolutionary dictatorship politically. This could even occur in the near future if the military proves unable to cope with the problem of inflation.

The defeat suffered by the PKI is of such depth that certainly no quick change in the situation can be forecast. It will take years to regain revolutionary possibilities as excellent as those lost in 1964-66 due to the opportunist policies of the PKI leadership.

However, what remains of that leadership along with the surviving party cadres — especially the best educated, those steered by the terrible experiences they went through in the past six months — will have taken the road of guer-

rilla war, if only out of self-defense.

If they succeed in regrouping and in regaining a mass following in some regions of the countryside by calling on the peasants to immediately take over the land held by the landlords, the plantations and army administration, they could gain on a progressive scale due to the inability of Indonesian reaction to solve the country's basic economic plight and due to the divisions in the ranks of the army which that inability will undoubtedly provoke.

It will become possible to link this peasant base to the working class when, under pressure of economic necessity, the urban masses overcome the stunning effect of the defeat and once again take the road of action. Such a comeback, involving a renewal of organized influence among the workers, is still possible — provided that all the main lessons of the terrible defeat are analyzed and assimilated.

## Main Lessons

VI. The main lessons to be drawn from this tragic defeat, which the Indonesian revolutionary Marxists must continually hammer home while energetically participating in all attempts by revolutionary PKI elements to start armed resistance against the military dictatorship, are as follows:

A. While it is correct and necessary to support all anti-imperialist mass movements, and even to critically support all concrete anti-imperialist measures taken by representatives of the colonial bourgeoisie like Sukarno, for colonial revolution to be victorious it is absolutely essential to maintain the proletarian organizations strictly independent politically and organizationally from the "national" bourgeoisie, to instill among the masses a spirit of distrust towards this bourgeoisie and a spirit of self-reliance, to lead the masses toward organizing independent organs of power (committees, workers and peasants militia, etc.), as requisites for the victory of the revolution.

The Indonesian events have proved once again that the theory of the capacity of the "progressive" forces of the "national bourgeoisie" to lead a "consistent" fight

against imperialism as the "embodiment of the whole nation" — the theory of a "national democratic state" and a "bloc of revolutionary classes" — leads only to defeat.

## Central Goal

B. While it is correct and necessary during the first phases of the revolution in backward countries to place the main stress on the problems of winning national independence, unifying the country and solving the agrarian question (i.e., the historical tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution which constitute the most burning tasks in the eyes of 80 to 90 percent of the population); it is indispensable to understand that the solution of these tasks is only possible when the working class, in alliance with the poor peasantry, has conquered leadership of the revolution, establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry and pushes the revolution through to its socialist phase.

The Indonesian events once again confirm that the theory of "revolution by stages" — the first stage being a Victory under a "national front" led by the "national bourgeoisie" — only paves the way to defeat. Either defeat under "national" bourgeois leaders or victory through the conquest of power and the establishment of a workers state — this is the dilemma that faces all colonial revolutions.

C. While it is necessary to win the broadest possible mass base in the countryside, a revolutionary party capable of applying that policy must be based upon a hardened proletarian cadre thoroughly trained in Marxist theory and revolutionary practice, without illusions about a "peaceful transition" to socialism or "national democratic states," a party that relies mainly on mass mobilizations and mass struggles instead of intrigues and infiltration for achieving its historical goals.

Only by thoroughly assimilating these lessons can the Indonesian Communists and revolutionists overcome the results of the present defeat and avenge the victims of the counterrevolutionary terror by organizing and leading the workers and poor peasants in their fight for power in Indonesia!

## Publish Valuable Work On American History

By Herman Porter

"Marxist Essays in American History," edited by Robert Himmel, was published in February of this year by Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003. They have performed a valuable service in making available in a single volume 26 articles on American history which appeared over the past 30 years in the *International Socialist Review*, and its predecessors, *The New Internationalist* and *Fourth International* — all journals of the American revolutionary socialist movement. The paper-cover book sells for \$1.95.

George Novack, who is also known by his pen name, William F. Warde, has provided an introduction, "The Key to American History." He has contributed more articles to the anthology than any other writer.

The first section of the book is titled "A Marxist Approach to American Development." It consists of a single article by Novack written in 1935 dealing with the importance of understanding the international context of U. S. economic history. It is a critique of

Lewis Corey's book "The Decline of American Capitalism."

The next section contains three articles on the American Indians by Warde.

Two articles on slavery in colonial America precede a section of four articles dealing with the American Revolution. They cover topics like: the colonial plantation system, class forces in the American Revolution, Tom Paine, and how the Constitution was written.

Two articles by Harry Frankel deal with the Jackson period in American history.

There are five contributions on the Civil War, including discussions of John Brown, the Emancipation Proclamation, the place of the Civil War in history, and the lessons of Reconstruction.

This book contains a unique collection of Marxist analyses of American history. More than half the articles were written in the 1930's and 1940's and can be obtained only in rare and expensive bound volumes of the journal. It is an important book for American socialists and anyone interested in American history.

(9) In a dispatch from Jakarta Feb. 14, the Indonesian news agency Antara gave the text of three resolutions adopted by the Indonesian parliament Feb. 11. One deals with the Tricontinental Conference. After denouncing the refusal of the Preparatory Commission to seat the official delegation sent by the Indonesian government, the resolution states in point No. 5: "Expresses full appreciation [!] of the efforts of the delegations of Nepal, Mongolia, the Soviet Union and others at the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who successfully neutralized [!] the efforts of the counterrevolutionists [!] of the so-called Sept. 30 Movement, and their protectors and leaders, to intervene in the internal affairs of Indonesia and to induce among the other delegations a hostile attitude toward the people and government of Indonesia."



## IRISH FREEDOM STRUGGLE

# The Easter Rebellion

By Gerry Foley

The Irish Rising of Easter Week 1916, 50 years ago, brought together both idealist nationalists and revolutionary socialists, represented respectively by its two principal leaders, P. H. Pearse, and James Connolly. It took place in the darkest year of the imperialist war. Its main leaders were executed. The fight was begun by Pearse and Connolly in full knowledge that it was hopeless and that they would be shot for their part in it if they were not killed in the fighting. The Rising was entirely isolated.

The rebels occupied the Dublin General Post Office and issued the Declaration of the Republic of Ireland from there on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916. Other detachments occupied a number of other prominent buildings. The General Post Office served as the insurgent headquarters until heavy artillery fire forced its abandonment. The rebel force numbered about 1,500 and faced a British garrison of 2,000 at the start. Thousands of British reinforcements were brought up along with considerable heavy artillery. Whole blocks were leveled to clear a path for artillery fire. The rebels had no artillery and most of their resistance consisted of small forays, sniping, heroic but on a very small scale.

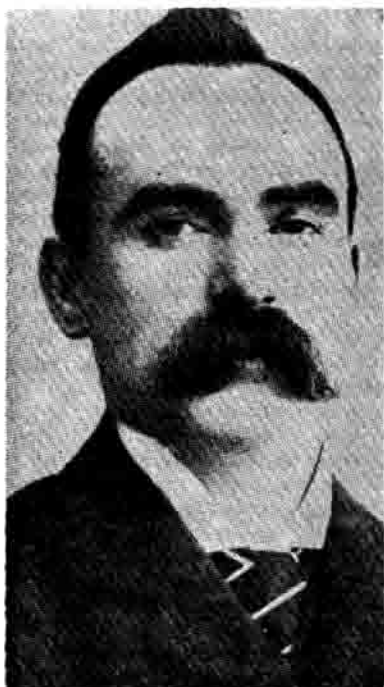
## Lessons

Pearse surrendered in the name of the republic on April 29 "to prevent further slaughter." Connolly, however, properly summed up the experience of the Rising and its purpose. "We can't fail now; such lads will never forget."

The rebellion was the culmination of one of the most remarkable revolutionary traditions in the world. It was also one of the great crossroads of modern history, the first episode in the revolutionary wave unleashed by World War I of which the Russian Revolution was the height.

Ireland's long and rich revolutionary history reflects her remote position on the edge of Europe. She has always been affected late by European developments and in an especially violent manner. Ireland has suffered in an exaggerated way from the introduction of each new form of exploitation that led to modern capitalism and resisted each new form with especial bitterness.

The Irish tribal democracy, or the clan system, based on common ownership of the land, had developed uncommon energy in long isolation from the main theaters of history and in especially favorable circumstances before the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1165. It maintained itself, in large part, until the threshold of the modern period, and its spirit perhaps longer.



James Connolly

Only the rise of capitalism and its advanced means of coercion, the absolutist monarchy of Elizabeth, the Commonwealth of Cromwell, the bourgeois monarchy of William of Orange would reduce the Irish peasant to serfdom. It took more than a century of genocidal warfare to accomplish this object. In one local pacification under Elizabeth in 1582 in the southern province of Ireland, 30,000 are estimated to have perished from war or famine. Cromwell massacred whole civilian populations, as at the city of Drogheda where 3,000 were slaughtered. The campaigns of William in Ireland left the entire country famine stricken and depopulated.

The Celtic and Norman, half tribal, half feudal, chiefs and princes who led the resistance to the conquest reflected, by no means consistently, some of the heroic and democratic spirit of primitive Irish collectivism. And it may not be entirely romantic of modern Irish rebels, including socialists, to see Sean O'Neill, Red Hugh O'Donnell and Rory O'More as their examples and spiritual forbears.

## Underdevelopment

The Ireland that resulted from the conquest had most of the characteristics of a modern colonial country. All attempts to develop native industries were frustrated. The population was abysmally poor, ignorant and chronically undernourished.

The English garrison in Ireland was many times the size of the garrison used to hold the entire subcontinent of India. At times, half of the imperial army of England was stationed in Ireland; equivalent, in proportion to the population, to the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam or more.

A racist-caste system was developed from the implantation of British Protestants on lands confiscated from native Catholic Irish. It resembled both Catholic settlement like the French in Algeria and the Boers in South Africa and the Moslem-Hindu communalism carefully fostered by the British government in India.

The first national liberation movement that arose under these circumstances was the movement for civil rights for Catholics led by Daniel O'Connell, one of the few remaining Catholic landlords. He was a firm conservative and a professed admirer of the English constitution and monarchy. He looked forward to the extinction of the Gaelic language, his own native tongue, and assimilation with England.

O'Connell's movement was dominated by a thin layer of well-to-do Catholics but the masses of the Irish people followed it and supported it.

Its forms of struggle were court battles and mass rallies, like the rally at the Hill of Tara where one million people gathered. It won many basic rights for Catholics. If there had been a Nobel Prize in O'Connell's day, he would have won it. However, his movement ended with the great famines and renewed police suppression.

Both the success and the failures of the movement combined to split it. The well-to-do element were largely satisfied by the gains it made. The Catholic hierarchy, in many ways the most important section of the colonial middle class, became highly conservatized and anti-nationalist after the Church was granted a subsidy by the British government. On the other hand, the frustrations of the legal struggle and the misery of the Irish people pushed the idealist and democratic middle class nationalists in another direction, to the founding of the Young Ireland movement and the abortive rebellion of 1848.

## Movement Founded

Young Ireland was the germ of a populist movement aimed both at the peasantry and the radical intellectuals. The poet Thomas Davis, the major spokesman for Young Ireland, glorified the peasantry, which was still largely Gaelic speaking in his time, and preserved many of the traditions of Celtic Ireland. Young Ireland created the cult of the romantic revolutionary, heroic, completely self-sacrificing in his love of the people. The radical national movement found contacts with the elemental peasant resistance to English landlordism that had never been completely put down.

The period between the failure of a second uprising in 1867 and the rebellion of Easter Week 1916 was dominated by the parliamentary struggle for independence and by economic struggles like that of the populist Land League. It witnessed the rise of an exceptionally militant trade union movement in Ireland.

The radical nationalists of 1916 were the culmination of the Young Ireland tradition as well as many decades more of disillusion with parliamentary methods. Their main leader and best representative was the poet, P. H. Pearse, the provisional president of the first Irish republic.

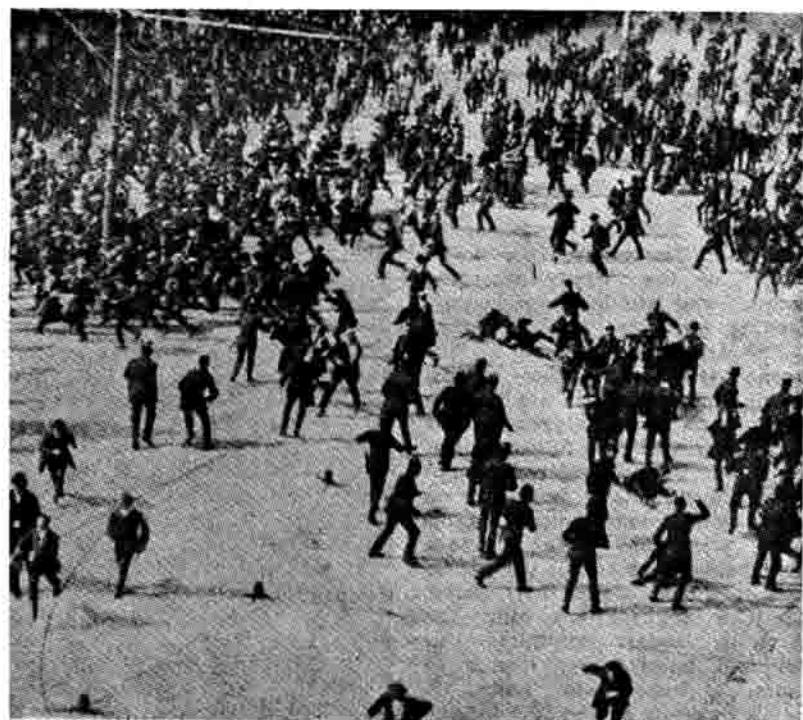
The Nationalist Party which had once united all sections of the Irish people by its uncompromising independence from English politics had degenerated into a thoroughly opportunist organization dominated by the Church and big capitalists like W. M. Murphy, the main leader in the breaking of the Dublin General Strike of 1913. The definitive debacle of moderation for the radical nationalists came with the onset of World War I when the leader of the Nationalist Party, John Redmond, accepted postponement of autonomy for Ireland for the duration of the war and supported conscription in Ireland for England's war. Pearse wrote:

## Necessary Sacrifice

"There has been nothing more terrible in Irish history than the failure of the last generation. Other generations have failed in Ireland. But they have failed nobly, or failing ignobly, some man among them has redeemed them from infamy by the splendour of his protest. But the failure of the last generation has been mean and shameful..."

Pearse saw rebellion as a symbolic blood sacrifice necessary to redeem the soul of Ireland. His attitude is apparent in his essay on Robert Emmet, the leader of the most unsuccessful of Ireland's many unsuccessful uprisings.

"No failure, judged as the world judges these things, was ever more complete, more pathetic than



**STRIKE BATTLE.** Cops attack workers rally during 1913 Dublin General Strike. Three people were killed by the cops, leading James Connolly to decide to organize the Irish Citizens Army.

Emmet's. And yet he has left us a prouder memory than the memory of Brian victorious at Clontarf or Owen Roe victorious at Benburb... Be assured that such a death always means redemption... Emmet redeemed Ireland..."

Pearse was not an idealist alone. He was a revolutionary democrat. He wrote the following on Thomas Davis and on himself as well. "But Davis loved the people, as every nationalist must love the people, seeing that the people are the nation; his nationalism was not mere devotion to an abstract idea, it was a devotion to the actual men and women who make up this nation of Ireland... There is no other sort of nationalism than this, the nationalism that seeks to enthrone the sovereign people."

## Meaning of Strike

His idealism tended to carry him beyond radical democracy towards socialism and the working class as it did others of his mentality. The poet George Russell described the attraction of the heroic General Strike of 1913 for nationalist intellectuals like himself and Pearse who saw in it the earthly realization of the idealism that was only thought and poetry and desperate individual actions in their own class: "I am a literary man and a lover of ideas, and I have found few people in my life who would sacrifice anything for social principles; but I will never forget the exaltation with which I realized in a great labor trouble when the masters of industry issued a document asking men on peril of dismissal to swear never to join a trades union that there were thousands of men in my own city who refused to obey... Nearly all the real manhood of Dublin was among the obscure myriads who are paid from 20 to 30 shillings a week."

The second great leader of the Dublin Rising was the leader of that strike, James Connolly.

It was a betrayal of a different kind than the imperial patriotism of Redmond and the philistinism of the Nationalist Party that brought James Connolly to the Dublin Rising.

The General Strike ended in the Great Lockout and in defeat because the British trade unions did not support the strike either by sympathetic strikes or by preventing the mass importation of scabs into Ireland.

The betrayal of workers' internationalism that Connolly experienced from the British unions was consummated with the collapse of the Socialist International with the onset of the war. Connolly turned to stress the need for the independence of the uncorrupted labor movement in Ireland from the corrupted English movement and to identify the needs of labor with national liberation.

"We have ere now looked hope-

fully to the British Trade Union Congress, but our hopes are gone. The British Empire is ruled by the most astute ruling class in the world; the British working class is the most easily fooled working class in the world."

## Degradation

His gloom deepened, however, as he saw Irish workers being attracted into the British army by high pay, after combined trade union and radical nationalist agitation had kept conscription out of Ireland. "But deep in the heart of Ireland has sunk the sense of the degradation wrought upon its people — so deep and so humiliating that no agency less powerful than the red tide of war on Irish soil will ever be able to enable the Irish race to recover its self-respect."

Connolly came to the idea of the symbolic shedding of blood in a hopeless revolution upon which Pearse had already decided. It was his Citizen Army, first formed as a labor defense force in the Dublin General Strike, that made the rising a reality since the nationalist force was largely immobilized by moderate influence within it at the decisive moment.

The most militant and best traditions of Ireland met in the Rising of 1916 to avenge the most bitter betrayals and to assert an unconquered heroism, to give an example of vision and sacrifice so that mankind and Ireland would not lose hope in the future or pride in the past.

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Pittsburgh Protest

Pittsburgh, Pa.

I expect you have received a report on our "Days of Protest" here in Pittsburgh. The newspaper here only gave us credit for 80 people but I'm sure there were closer to 200. It was a bitter cold, snowy and rainy day and I believe those people on the march were really in earnest. I was so proud to be with them. When we gathered at the steps of the Federal Building to hear several speakers we shivered and shook and shook and shivered, but I didn't see anyone leave.

Of course we had a couple of hecklers. The papers said they

were "gently" removed by the police and that's true.

Wish I could have attended the other rallies on the previous days but arthritis doesn't permit one to do everything he wants to. And on top of the arthritis we got a telegram that my grandson in Vietnam had received a gunshot wound in the head. The telegram said he had been treated and returned to duty, but until we got a letter from him we were quite worried. He's only 18 and has been in the fight for six months.

R. Q.

## Marcher's View

New York, N. Y.

An hour before it started, I knew the antiwar parade last Saturday was going to be a good one when a stylishly-dressed woman bought a *Militant* from me and said she had never marched in a demonstration before but felt that she just had to express how she felt about what's happening in Vietnam. She said she was buying all the various literature being sold so she would know what was being said.

I raised my estimate of how many would be on the line even higher when I saw the contingent from Columbia, CCNY and Harlem march in and fill up the entire block on 95th St. from Fifth Avenue to Madison.

And an hour after I reached the mall for the rally and heard A. J. Muste announce that there were still people marching from the starting point, I knew this parade must be at least double the last one which was very reasonably estimated at 30,000.

Another side of the success of this march was the spirit of self-confidence that permeated it as reflected in the signs and slogans. Both were quite militant and the slogans were shouted loud and clear.

There were small, vociferous groups of right-wing supporters of the government along the line of march. But they were drowned out by the marchers shouting such demands as "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

Many watchers showed their sympathy by clapping as the marchers shouted back at the hecklers.

I felt really good when a TV man interrupted my sales of *The Militant* to ask what I thought of the parade and I was able to tell him it was bigger than last October's and that there were far more supporters than hecklers along the line of march.

P. R.

## Soviet Leaders and Vietnam

Los Angeles, Calif.

The March 25-26 International Days of Protest were most gratifying. In face of threats and intimidation hundreds of thousands of people throughout the world joined to express their opposition to U. S. foreign policy of aggression in Vietnam. They demonstrated their solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam now fighting for freedom and independence.

It is unfortunate that the leaders of the most powerful nation

in the Communist camp, the USSR, saw fit to be silent and not join in the demonstrations against the U. S. policy of aggression.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could have been effectively utilized by the Soviet camp as an expression of international solidarity with the people of Vietnam and all those fighting for independence and freedom against American imperialism.

The USSR is inadvertently proving by their lack of action the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's policy.

A. S.

## Black Nationalism

Philadelphia, Miss.

I read with interest Herman Porter's article on the recent Watts explosion, (*The Militant*, March 28, 1966), and I agree with most of what he has to say.

However, one thing has continued to bother me, and that is the black nationalism that has existed in Watts and other areas, and is encouraged by Herman Porter and other radical leaders.

I have been working in Mississippi since last June and in Philadelphia, Miss., since last February. One of the many things I

## Thought for the Week

"The demonstrations of the Buddhists and the students against the Washington and Saigon governments are not changing the situation but only exposing it. They are not changing the political fundamentals, but merely reminding us of what they are." — James Reston in the April 3 *New York Times*.

have learned is that some Negro Uncle Toms are just as low-down as the sheriff and his kind. For instance, here in Mississippi there are Negro policemen who have arrested many Negro citizens on false charges and beaten them. On the other hand there are a few local white people who help out the Freedom Democratic Party in its work.

I think that instead of encouraging Black Nationalism, we should encourage Freedom Nationalism, which would consist of those people, both black and white, who want to organize independently to tear down the present corrupt establishment and build a new society where there is no racism, war or exploitation.

Incidentally, the Philadelphia, Miss., Freedom Party, needs money to pay bills and it needs a car; it has neither and contributions are always welcome.

N. B.

[We consider it is progressive

that black nationalism is developing in the ghettos, north and south — that the black people want to create their own independent leadership and organizations and establish their right to a decisive voice in their own community. The question of the quality and program of such a leadership is, of course, an issue that has to be determined in the course of the development of this process. We are also completely in favor of the closest collaboration between black freedom fighters and white allies who want to abolish the whole racist system. In relation to that necessary alliance, the term black nationalism does have certain limitations which Malcolm X discussed shortly before his death in an interview in the *Young Socialist*. It is available in the *Young Socialist* pamphlet, "Malcolm X Speaks to Young People." (P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003. 35 cents.) EDITOR.]

## 20 Years Ago In The Militant

The following are direct quotations from *The Militant*. Omissions are indicated by three dots.

**IMPERIALIST TERROR IN GREECE** — Greece continues to be agitated by open civil war and revolutionary ferment.

The defeat of the revolutionary movement of December 1944 provoked the counter-revolutionary terror. Reactionary and fascist bands thereafter committed daily acts of violence and crime against workers' organizations. The gendarmerie, the army and the British occupation forces participated in this organized terror.

But in spite of the military and financial support of British imperialism, the capitalists have not been able to improve the chaotic situation in the country, nor establish any political stability.

With the approach of the elections (set for March 31 by London, in agreement with the reactionary Monarchist wing of the Populist Party), disorders are growing and reflect the exceptionally strong pressure exerted by the militancy of the masses. Even Premier Sophoulis regards the elections as lacking the most elementary guarantees of freedom and as designed to bring about a crushing victory for monarchist reaction.

A new wave of strikes, political in character, are at present sweeping the country. The workers are everywhere demanding the postponement of the elections and an end to reactionary terror. This current strike wave is the second to occur in the course of the past two months.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, office employees and government functionaries have demonstrated against the terror and the high cost of living. The militancy of the strikers in Athens, Piraeus, Salonica, Kavala and other cities is in marked contrast to the capitulationist policy of the Stalinist and reformist leaders.

"For the first time since 'liberation,'" writes the Trotskyist weekly *Workers' Struggle*, "the working class of our country is undergoing a veritable mobilization to reorganize its forces. A series of trade union conventions has been held, topped by the eighth national congress of the trade union confederation, which was a complete success."

In spite of the defeats which the Stalinist leadership has brought about, the Greek proletariat continues its liberating struggle with high morale . . . — April 13, 1946.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**It Sells** — Charles Mohr of the *New York Times* offered this cogent observation in a report on the anti-government demonstrations in Hue: "Agitators in the northern area seem to lack an issue capable of inspiring real interest and emotion among the population. This, some qualified sources suggest, may be why they turned to open anti-Americanism."

**Our Foolproof Nuclear System** — As of our last report the United Buckingham Freight Line was still looking for a radioactive capsule lost somewhere in Montana during the beginning of March. "We just don't know what could have happened," a trucking company spokesman said. A spokesman for the Atomic Energy Commission assured the capsule wasn't dangerous unless its shielded container was removed. It's described as about the size of a hot water tank.

**Take Your Choice** — Dr. Paul Dudley White, the noted heart specialist, told a Franklin, Mass., junior college symposium that a balanced regime of physical, intellectual and moral discipline would lengthen and enrich the life of the individual and add to the worth of the community. Keynote speaker at the symposium was Gen. Maxwell Taylor. He urged support of the U. S. war in Vietnam.

**Vietnam, the Bomb, "Trigger"** — A March 30 UPI dispatch from Hollywood disclosed: "Trigger is dead. Roy Rogers, the movie cowboy, announced today that his equine co-star died of old age at

33 last July 3. He had delayed revealing the news to spare Trigger fans around the world."

**A Good Question** — "If there aren't any ammunition shortages in the Vietnam fighting and if there aren't any plans to escalate and step up the fighting in Vietnam, then why have you recently opened a half dozen or more ammunition plants directed to start operations on increased ammunition?" Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.) to Secretary of Defense McNamara during closed Senate hearing.

**Drive You Crazy** — We recently reported the finding of experts that city noises help promote psychoses. Now we learn from a *New York Herald Tribune* series on New York pollution ("The World's Dirtiest Air") that air pollution is believed by some doctors to cause chronic anxiety, depression and even persecution complexes.

**As Long As It Pays** — Last year cigarette companies spent more than \$200 million just for radio and TV advertising. The result, according to E. William Henry, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, is: "Tele-

vision viewers . . . are led to believe that cigarette smoking is the key to fun and games with the opposite sex, good times at home and abroad, social success and virility." Meanwhile a new national survey indicated that if the U.S. were a nation of non-smokers there would be 12 million fewer chronic illnesses in the country.

**Seeks Mental Balance** — Madison Avenue huckster Marion Harper says there should be an international "brain bank" to correct the world imbalance of brains.

**Safety Measure** — A spokesman for the New York Buildings Department said housing inspectors aren't being asked to wear uniforms only because it is considered that this will make it more difficult for them to accept bribes. "It's for the safety of the men, too," he explained. "Sometimes they are mistaken for rent collectors and attacked."

**Profitable Performance** — Braniff Airlines reports it has enjoyed a 20 percent business increase since it began putting its stewardesses through four changes of costume per flight.

—Harry Ring

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## AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM ASSAILED

## Reports on Int'l Protest

The international movement against the war in Vietnam came out in flying colors on March 25 and 26, it is now evident as reports come in from all over the world. As the citizens of Danang, Hue and Saigon paraded against the U. S.-supported military clique in south Vietnam, rallies against the war were held from Auckland, New Zealand, to Oslo, Norway, and from Ottawa to Tel Aviv.

In London, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign held a rally on the night before the march which was addressed, among other persons, by Ralph Schoenman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. Schoenman, who recently returned from a visit to north Vietnam, had testified in New York City in defense of David Mitchell — the student who refused to report for induction in the American army on the grounds that under the Nuremberg statutes, the United States is engaging in a criminal war.

In Vietnam, Schoenman stated, he talked to men and women who had suffered torture under techniques practiced by the Nazis and later by the French imperialists in Algeria. He described water torture, systematic mutilations, gas used by Americans that causes immediate abortions in pregnant women and sometimes blindness and permanent nervous shock.

"It makes me sick as an American," Schoenman said, "to see and learn of this, to know that Americans are doing it." He held that "those people who tell the Vietnamese they should negotiate under these circumstances are betrayers."

Another speaker in the London rally, which was chaired by David Horowitz, author of the recently published book *Free World Colossus*, was Robin Blackburn. Blackburn reported on a visit to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, which he attended in January as an invited observer for the Russell Foundation.

In Havana, Blackburn had talk-

## Mark First Year Of Black Panther Party of Alabama

LOWNDES COUNTY, Ala. — Over 1,000 Negroes here — most of them sharecroppers and tenant farmers — heard Representative-elect Julian Bond urge a renewal of "peoples' politics" at a rally celebrating the first anniversary of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (the Black Panther Party).

The legislator, who was expelled from the Georgia Legislature after making criticisms about the government's policy in Vietnam, told the group: "I've learned something about politics. There's politicians' politics and people's politics. For 400 years we've had politicians' politics, but then a new kind of politics is developing here in Lowndes County."

The "Black Panther Party," which is called that because of its symbol of a black panther, will run independent candidates for a variety of county offices. Other such parties are being formed in several Alabama Black Belt counties.

Also at the meeting was Mrs. Rosa Parks, whose arrest on a Montgomery bus sparked the famous 1956 bus boycott there.

Lowndes County had no Negro voters a year ago, despite the fact the Negroes are 82 percent of the population. However, since the civil rights bill of 1965, over 3,000 Negroes have been put on the rolls.



**MEXICAN DEMONSTRATORS.** Participants in Mexico City demonstration against Vietnam war, who also raised demands relating to their own social struggles, included supporters of Lucha Obrera (Workers Struggle), publication of the Marxist Workers League, Mexican section of the Fourth International.

ed to members of the National Liberation Front who were delegates to the conference. The NLF fighters, Blackburn declared, were of the opinion that the time might come when it would be necessary to ask for volunteers to help in Vietnam, even if only in token numbers.

The following day, the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament conducted a march against the Vietnamese war in London which brought out about 1,000 participants. A segment of the marchers attempted to demonstrate in front of the American embassy, but were dispersed by the police.

In Mexico City, about 10,000 students and workers marched in solidarity with the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This militant demonstration, inspired by the Tricontinental Conference, was barely mentioned in the pro-U. S. Mexican press, and not mentioned in the American press at all.

The largest demonstration held outside of the U. S. was in Rome, where 15,000 people came in chartered buses from all over Italy to take part in an antiwar rally sponsored by the Italian Committee for Peace and Liberty. The following four slogans from the placards of the Rome marchers were mentioned by the *New York Times*:

"Not a penny, not a soldier to fight in Vietnam," "America, hands off Vietnam," "We support the other America," and "Viet si, Yankee no."

Carl Oglesby, a leader of the Students for a Democratic Society, was one of the speakers in the Rome demonstration.

In Oslo, about 500 marchers took a petition to the American embassy demanding withdrawal from Vietnam. En route, according to the Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde*, they were attacked by U. S. Marines who were participating in NATO maneuvers there. Small demonstrations were reported in a number of cities throughout France.

Other March 26 demonstrations included those in Stockholm, with a turnout of 1,000; Ottawa, where at least 3,000 demonstrators gathered and attempted to deliver a petition to Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson; Auckland, where about 200 students delivered a letter denouncing U. S. policy in Vietnam to the American consulate; and Cologne, where a student demonstration of 250 called U. S. tactics in Vietnam "genocidal," and a "scorched-earth policy."

Large turnouts were also reported in both Tel Aviv and Haifa, Israel.

## A LUCRATIVE SETUP

## How Aramco Pumps Profits

By Herman Porter

The value of America's foreign investments is often not adequately reflected in the bare figures of the amount of money invested overseas, because U. S. foreign holdings, in oil and other minerals especially, are usually much more profitable than domestic investments of the same size. An outstanding example of this was described by Ray Vickers, staff reporter of the *Wall Street Journal*, in an article that appeared in the March 14 issue of that paper about the Arabian American Oil Company.

Aramco, as the company is generally known, is owned completely by four oil companies which rank among America's largest industrial corporations: Standard Oil Co. of California, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), Texaco, Inc., and Socony Mobile Oil Co. Aramco's profit figures have never been published but remain buried in the reports of the parent companies. Vickers was able to reconstruct the figures from sources available in Saudi Arabia, where Aramco operates.

Aramco's total sales in 1965 amounted to about \$1.3 billion —

not an extraordinary amount in these days of giant corporations. But its before-tax profit of \$1.1 billion, about 85 percent of its sales, makes it very unusual among the corporate giants. The comparable average percentage of sales that profits made up in 1965 for all U. S. manufacturing companies is less than 10 percent. Profits, after taxes which go to King Saud, were approximately \$480 million, greater than those of all but a handful of U. S. corporations, and amounted to 37 percent of sales.

This glowing profit picture is even brighter when one considers Aramco's prospects. Aramco owns crude oil reserves in the ground equivalent of 63.7 billion barrels, more than twice the total reserves of the U. S. (30.8 billion barrels). Moreover, these reserves are expanding rapidly as Aramco explores the 125,000-square-mile concession it operates by agreement with the Saudi Arabian government. The agreement calls for Aramco to give up its concession by 1999, but T. C. Barger, president of the company, told Vickers that the company hopes "the Saudi government will ask us to stay on."

## Mich. Antiwar Fighters Win a Round in Court

EAST LANSING, Mich., April 2 — Students at Michigan State University here won a battle in their fight for free speech on the campus yesterday when four antiwar activists were released from prison on bail pending the appeal of their conviction for "trespassing" at the Student Union.

Three MSU students and one non-student, all associated with the local Committee to End the War in Vietnam, were arrested last Oct. 12 while distributing copies of *Viet Report* and pacifist literature at the MSU Career Carnival in the Student Union. They were first tried and convicted in local Justice of the Peace Court on Dec. 17.

Their case was appealed to the Ingham County Circuit Court in Mason by civil liberties attorney Conrad Lynn. They were tried under Judge Marvin Salmon March 28 and 29 and were found guilty of "trespassing" and "blocking the normal flow of traffic."

## Jail Sentences

Although the normal sentence for such a misdemeanor is a fine, Howard Harrison, 20, the non-student, and Albert Halprin, 18, were sentenced to 30 days in jail, while Fred Janvrin, 22, and James Dukram, 19, were sentenced to 10 days. They were ordered to pay fines and court costs of \$72.50 each as well.

The convictions were appealed to the Michigan Court of Appeals, but bail was denied pending appeal. The denial of bail was highly unusual and was regarded as an especially vicious assault on the antiwar movement. Ordinarily, the Court of Appeals must be given five days notice and the rendering of a decision takes several days more. Thus, in the time the Court takes to make a decision, two of the defendants would have served their entire sentences!

Benjamin Gibson, attorney for the four, said he was amazed that Judge Salmon had refused to free them on bail. "Whenever you appeal a case, bail is a matter of course," Gibson said.

"I don't think they were entitled to bail after I heard what they had done," said Judge Salmon.

"If the Court of Appeals wants to set bail, that's up to them."

MSU students held a continuous vigil at the home of university president John Hannah in protest against the prosecution and the cruel punishment. The vigil began when the four were incarcerated and lasted until they were released. Six people at Hannah's house went on a hunger strike as did the four in jail.

The protesters maintained their continuous vigil despite four incidents of harassment in which eggs, water-filled balloons, and a "not quite dead carp" were thrown at them.

## Campus Rally

On March 31 a rally was held on campus protesting the denial of bail, sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society and the Committee for Student Rights. About 1,000 people attended at its peak. Five professors and Dena Clamage of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam addressed the rally.

An ROTC student in uniform attended carrying a sign: "I'm proud of my country, but let's have freedom of speech, dissent and due process of law." After an hour, an Army sergeant drove up and dragged him to a waiting car.

Two of the vigil participants who received much publicity in the press were: Louise Holmes, daughter of the head of the Michigan Selective Service, and Jane Munn, daughter of the MSU athletic director.

The Michigan State Court of Appeals ruled March 31 on an "emergency motion" that bail be set for the four, and directed the Ingham County Circuit Court to set bond "commensurate with the situation but not in excess of \$300." The four were released on \$100 bond the next morning.

## San Jose Teach-In Hits Vietnam War

By Angela Vinter

SAN JOSE, Calif. — A teach-in at San Jose State College sponsored by the San Jose Vietnam Day Committee was held here on March 25 during the International Days of Protest with the theme "Bring the Troops Home Now." The audience, which varied in size from 200 to 500 people, heard a number of speakers, including: William Stanton, State Assemblyman from San Jose, and John Thorne, noted civil liberties attorney.

A speech by Ken Mills, professor of philosophy at Stanford University, was received with a standing ovation. Mills declared that those against the war must never allow themselves the luxury of pessimism but must work constantly and protest in every way.

## Antiwar March, Rally Are Staged in Seattle

SEATTLE — A march and rally were the events held here in conjunction with the International Days of Protest on March 26. The march was virtually twice as large as that held during the previous days of protest in October.

Nearly 600 marched from a high school in the heart of the ghetto about two miles to the Westlake Mall in downtown Seattle, where hundreds of others were waiting for the meeting to begin. A series of speakers representing varied viewpoints addressed the throng.

Delegations came from as far away as Pullman, Wash., which was represented by a group of Washington State University students.